Attention!

BACK ON JANUARY 23, 1950, we made a "last-ditch appeal" to you, the readers of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, for survival. You came through. In that appeal we first published Fred Wright's immortal drawing (see right) whose stark simplicity just about told our story.

"Frankly, sir, I need more money!"

Now, 6 years and seven months after that date we are still publishing. We have never missed an issue, never pulled a punch. But in this issue — Vol. 8 No. 43 — we are once again forced to disclose to you our predicament which is serious enough to ask you for immediate financial help. Our predicament is caused by these factors:

1. Our forced move in May from 17 Murray Street and the costly repairs to our new quarters.

2. A severe lag in payments by a big proportion of "Buck of the Month" pledgers.

3. The failure of too many people to renew their subscription on or since expiration date.

When we moved we wrote you in haste for emergency help to "clean the slate." A generous 8 per cent responded. That help enabled us to make the move, but it could not be stretched to tide us over the summer doldrums.

WE DON'T LIKE TO TALK IN DIRE TERMS, but any newspaper must be able to depend on normal income to continue to publish. A paper like the GUARDIAN must have normal income, plus a regular and periodic boost from people who understand why it MUST continue to publish.

Without this, a paper like ours can shut its doors overnight for inability to pay the printer, the postage and a dozen other necessary obligations. Even staff sacrifices of weekly salary—and they have been made—can't produce the cash to turn the presses and move the mailbags.

This is a time of widespread political uncertainty among American progressives. In this time the GUARDIAN has found itself in position to be a truly tempering force, holding people together, supplying them with invaluable information, rallying them to the most urgent battles. It is a paper respected by all segments of the movement.

In addition, the GUARDIAN has assumed a unique importance in the nationwide struggle for civil rights and political liberty and for a sane foreign policy.

IF THE GUARDIAN WERE FORCED TO SUSPEND, or curtail publication, it would be an irreparable loss—not perhaps to Eastland, Walter & Co., but to all the decent people of this country who are determined to down them, and to make the nation safe for democracy.

Will you help? Will you reply today?

P.S. Chances are that you have a Guardian envelope you haven't mailed back to us. If it says "17 Murray St." use it anyway; we'll get it. Otherwise, write: National Guardian, 197 E. Fourth St., New York 9, N.Y.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN — the progressive newsweekly — 10 cents

Vol. 8, No. 43 — NEW YORK, N. Y. AUGUST 13, 1956

RUSSIA AND INDIA URGE CALM

Egypt firm on Suez in face of force; Washington worried

By Kumar Goshal

WHILE PRESIDENT NASSER stood firm last week on Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal, Britain and France began ominous preparations for possible recovery of control over the Big Ditch by force.

The Mediterranean squadron of the French Navy assembled at its Toulon base, ready to move on eight hours' notice. In Britain, Queen Elizabeth authorized the call-up of the reserves; orders were given to requisition merchant shipping; three aircraft carriers loaded ammunition and fuel, prepared to depart for "unknown destinations"; Canberra bombers were on their way to Malta and 1,000 paratroops sailed to augment British forces in Cyprus.

Although the Canal Zone was said to be the primary target, it was reported (N. Y. Times, 8/3) that plans were being prepared "for the occupation of other parts of Egypt, such as Cairo and Alexandria and the seizure of Egyptian government leaders as incidental to the reoccupation of the canal area if such measures should prove necessary."

IT'S NOT 1882: Britain and France were behaving towards Egypt as though the clock had been set back nearly 75 years —forgetting that the year is 1956, not 1882.

In 1882 there was great discontent among the Egyptians, suffering from unbearable taxes and a recent cattle plague and severe famine. During 1864-74 Khedive Ismail was plied with a £52½ million loan from Great Britain, of which, incidentally, British financiers pocketed nearly £35½ million as commission and expenses. By 1876 the Khedive's debt had mounted to £80 million; on this he had to pay £6 million interest out of a total state revenue of £10 million. The Khedive in desperation sold his Suez Canal shares to Britain, imposed heavy taxes on his people.

BARING BROS. BANKERS: Fed by the discontent of the people, an openly anti-foreign nationalist movement led by Col. Ahmed Arabi and other army officers came into power in 1881, determined to expel foreign exploiters. In May, 1882, an Anglo-French fleet arrived at Alexandria, demanding that the new government quit.

On July 11, 1882, after the Egyptians had turned down the ultimatum, the British fleet opened fire on Alexandria, British troops landed and defeated Arabi's

(Continued on Page 5)

POLITICS

Civil rights a football at Democratic convention

By Elmer Bendiner

FOR THE DEMOCRATIC Party the hour of decision came in the week before the delegates arrived for the televised frenzy of the convention. The arena was the corridors and the hotel rooms of the bosses and the ballroom of Chicago's Blackstone Hotel where the platform committee began hearings on Monday, Aug. 6. The conflict was symbolized by two men—neither of them candidates: Roy Wilkins, exec. secy. of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, and Gov. James P. Coleman of Mississippi. Both were to testify before the platform committee and each would press for a civil rights resolution the other would find it hard to live with.

Wilkins said he had little hope that either the Democrats or Republicans would write a civil rights plank that could satisfy the demands of Negroes. He said: "The colored people of this country believe their government and political parties should declare for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision [on desegregation] in plain language."

COLEMAN'S MISSION: He said he could not predict "wholesale disaffection" if anything less were offered but he thought it would lead to "great disappointment."

Gov. Coleman also carries a mandate. In Atlanta on Aug. 1 he was picked as a spokesman by party leaders in 11 Southern states, all pledged to act as a bloc at the convention and to insist that any

(Continued on Page 5)

Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Somebody up there doesn't like me."

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THE MAIL BAG

Cows Is Cows

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A sacred cow is out of place
In Burning Tree or Washington
And should you spot one
grazing there
It could be lost from Gettysburg.

The golfing greens of Burning
Tree
Are lush, of course, for any cow
But golf is golf and cows is cows
And sense is sense no matter
where

And even up in Gettysburg
Where cows make sense in
farming life
A bovine breed that's sacrosanct
Would be no good for human use.

For human is as human does
And in our human scheme of
things
We gotta find a human use
For man or beast or anything.

So let's be human as we can
In Burning Tree or Washington
And see that cows are in their
place
To do their best in serving Man.

Horace Casselberry

Boomerang

RICHLAND, N.Y.

It is difficult if not impossible for an individual to destroy the government by force and violence but frightfully easy for the government to destroy individuals. Any government that truly desires to serve the majority of its citizens should welcome constructive criticism. When people are punished for just criticism of the government it means that the government has no intention of correcting its faults and can give no good reason for not doing so and therefore sends the complainers to jail. This is apt to boomerang. **Paul Hamilton**

Diet does it

INGLEWOOD, CALIF.

I can wholeheartedly agree with Preston McCrossen's Eat and Live system. I have followed the same general diet and habits for many years. At 77 I have excellent health and can do five days of hard work a week with only good effects.

I might add a few practices I find valuable. I take a small glass of water before retiring and another upon arising. Also I take a small glass of vegetable juice in the morning.

Daily, generally in the morning, I lie on my back and breathe deeply and hold my breath as long as possible. I massage my bowels, sit up and twist to work my liver. I try to make use of all my muscles and also exercise my eyes by rolling them.

Also I am careful not to do anything harmful to anyone but watch for chances to help people about me. I do not worry.

Earl A. Robinson

•

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

While nutrition is a subject which has been shockingly neglected by progressives, it serves little purpose for laymen to make suggestions without recourse to the source of their information.

I would suggest that some qualified member of your staff read **Nutrition and Physical Degeneration**, by Weston A. Price, D.D.S., and then print a book review. This is the book most highly recommended by the American Nutrition Society, the layman's branch of the American Academy of Nutrition.

The time to begin study is now, the better to assure that within 30 years we will have the means to vibrant and productive longevity for all within our grasp.

Leonora L. Miller

•

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A deterrent to good health and longevity which generally goes unrecognized is frequent bathing. In our household, for example, nobody ever takes baths and, as a result, I have been cured of the following: myopia, warts, ingrown toenails and post-nasal drip, not to speak of insomnia, halitosis, and hyper-gastric acidity.

We use our bathtub to make yogurt! **David J. Solomon**

•

BETHAYRES, PA.

One man's meat can be another's poison. The psoriasis and hay fever that McCrossen claims were cured by his diet both happen to be allergies brought on frequently by foods. McCrossen's diet just happens to take out those foods which gave him trouble.

Allergy tests can be more scientific and will "custom fit" the individual much better than a blanket change of diet. **M. Berg**

"Hands off Canada"

SO. BURNABY, B. C.

In the war of 1812, Canadians fought against U. S. invasion and saved our country from annexation. In 1837, the people of French- and English-speaking Canada fought unitedly to free our country from British colonial oppression. So we advanced to the Confederation of 1867, established the Canadian state and embodied the principle of parliamentary government. This progressive step was necessary to open the way for capitalist development and to stop the attempts of the U. S. to annex Canada.

Today we are gradually losing this independence. A U. S. colonel from Alabama has been put in command of the Canadian air warfare branch in the Canadian Arctic. At present, about 15,000 American troops are stationed at three bases in Newfoundland and Labrador.

The U. S. will operate the D.E.W. line along the Canadian Arctic circle. Other U. S. troops share operation of the Pinetree line in Southern Canada. In addition, Americans are in Churchill, Alberta, B. C., and the Arctic. So your Canadian subscribers say "Hands off Canada" and would welcome an article on this subject. **Bert Phillips**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

LUDINGTON, Mich., July 17 (AP)—The Mason County Veterans Council is planning a hexagonal, twenty-foot granite memorial column with one of six sides left blank for the names of future war dead.

Robert Christiansen, memorial committee chairman, said today: "This is a permanent thing and we must be prepared for the future."

N. Y. Herald Tribune, July 17, 1956

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: B. K., Pearl River, N.Y. Be sure to send original clip with each entry.

Where the money went

REGINA, SASK.

You will be interested to know that we had our provincial election here recently. This is the one socialist government in North America. It was returned to office with 35 out of 50 seats (2 more to be decided). The urban centers (with strong labor support for the progressive labor legislation of the C.C.F.) maintained their total vote. Some popular vote was lost in the rural constituencies by the intrusion of a third major party (Socialist Credit). However, in total, the people of this province have rejected big business and have endorsed the C.C.F. program of social services and public control of natural resources.

Incidentally, if financés have been slow from Saskatchewan in the past few months, it's because we've been putting all the bucks into this fight. The amounts spent by the opposition parties to defeat the only socialist government were fantastic — we think much of it came from American oil and power interests.

Name Withheld

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Now, Maudie, don't start worrying—I'm assured that no major decisions can be taken until after that blasted Presidential Election!"

After each meal

NEW YORK, N.Y.

If I have a headache by the name of Dulles, McCarthy or Nixon, what I need more than a constant reminder that my headache exists is a prescription for its eradication.

Is this asking too much of a newspaper? I think not and I'm sure that an accurate and concise diagnosis of our political dilemma would give millions of us the strength to put up a very courageous battle to regain health in the truest sense of the word. **Nancy Bermain**

Training scientists

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

We deplore our lack of trained scientists, yet do not seem able to find methods of creating the needed group of specialists. If countries on the Eurasian continent can build up this human reserve, why can't we? Or do we at first make ourselves mad before we destroy ourselves?

We should look for our reserves among the Negroes in the South instead of throwing them off buses and pushing them out of universities.

David Seidman.

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Vol. 8, No. 43 — 401 — August 13, 1956

REPORT TO READERS

'God have mercy!'

On Aug. 6, 1945, Hiroshima was devastated by an atomic bomb dropped from an American plane. On Aug. 9 a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. Today, 11 years later, the Japanese press carries news each week of the death of persons who lingered on after the raids, of stillbirths and malformed children, the fruit of radiated wombs. From Aug. 6 to Aug. 15 this year there is being held in Hiroshima the Second World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. Among the sponsors are a former Japanese premier, the president of the Japanese Academy of Science and a former mayor of Hiroshima. The news of the conference seems thus far to have escaped the notice of the American press.

On July 17, 1956, there appeared in the conservative newspaper "Il Giorno" of Milan, Italy, an editorial which seems most appropriate for this anniversary week. It was translated by the GUARDIAN's Rome correspondent Ecco La Scolta. The editorial follows:

THE PROPOSAL of Soviet Foreign Minister Shepilov to suspend atomic experiments is an explosive one, coming as it does in a moment of particular anxiety, when humanity is becoming aware that we are heading in a direct line towards mass suicide. The greater part of the people who tomorrow will comment on Shepilov's proposal are people ignorant of physical science, people in fact, who give no credence to either the physical or non-physical sciences. Their comments regarding the particulars of the proposal will, for the most part, have been formulated long ago.

On the other hand, there is not a single scientist in the world, not one, who knows anything about biology who refutes the idea that damage is being done to humanity in the race for atomic supremacy between Russia and the U. S.

It is probable that they are already aware of the damage begun to human life on earth by the augmentation of radioactive material in the atmosphere. But who is to concern himself about this? What we see in the miscroscopes today will mutilate future generations.

We are the responsible ones—we, who assist passively in this madness. Instead of this inaction, this should be the hour for anarchistic insurrections by the people against the top leaders of all countries who are responsible for unleashing atomic madness. Foster Dulles shows the bomb to the Russians; Khrushchev and Bulganin show it to the Americans. When will this end?

Never in the history of mankind has anything been seriously done concerning disarmament. Conferences for disarmament have never been more than a half-way device by diplomats to gain time, each favoring his own country, in order to present themselves in the next war more heavily armed—if possible—than the adversary.

BUT THE MOMENT HAS COME for these same monstrous developments and marvels of technique **to turn traditional diplomacy upside down**—and to call to the conference table directors of atomic laboratories, biologists and technicians.

"America," says Auro Roselli [one of **Il Giorno**'s U.S. correspondents] "is divided between the pro-atomics and the anti-atomics . . ." Reading about the various points of view in the U.S., we are moved to emphasize that the most sterile position in the whole affair is taken by those who say "We can't believe the Russians." The problem in all disputes that divide men into conflicting parties is not one of believing or disbelieving . . . but of searching for compromise on particulars (without the necessity for agreeing upon fundamentals) —and of trying conciliation with the adversary. We, who are in the middle—we, who are, and who will remain, unarmed, are no longer protagonists . . . but recipients.

We who do not make and will never make nuclear arms . . . we who are out of this game—this fiendish spiral—we, our government, our diplomats, should be more inclined to support any initiative for atomic demobilization, no matter from where it comes . . . Instead one can bet that we will be among the first to share the most extreme positions of a certain great power—we who basically have no voice in these matters . . . May God have mercy on us!

TRIAL TOOK 3 MONTHS

N. Y. jury takes only 10 hours to convict 6 under Smith Act

SIX LEADERS of the Communist Party were found guilty on conspiracy charges under the Smith Act last week in the third such trial in New York. The trial lasted three months; the jury deliberated 10 hours. The convictions under the Smith Act now total 108; juries in New Haven, Seattle and Cleveland acquitted six defendants. Mrs. Marion Bachrach, a seventh defendant in the New York trial just ended, was acquitted by a directed verdict some weeks ago.

After the verdict, acting U.S. Atty. Thomas B. Gilchrist Jr., who prosecuted the case, said: "It disposes of the last of the national Communist leaders who were active in the 1940's." Judge Alexander Bicks set Sept. 17 for sentencing. All six defendants are free in bail ranging from $15,000 to $40,000 and it was expected that at the time of sentencing new applications for bail would be made pending certain appeal. The maximum penalty is five years in prison and $5,000 fine. The new law increasing the prison term to 20 years is not retroactive to cases underway before the President signed the law.

McCARTHY "RELIC": In a statement issued after the verdict, the defendants said: "A combination of paid political informers and anti-Communist prejudice is the basis for the verdict. We are profoundly convinced that evidence as tainted as that confessed by Harvey Matusow in the [Elizabeth Gurley] Flynn case was inherent in this case. We will of course appeal . . . We feel that this verdict is a dying relic of the age of McCarthyism and that it will be reversed. We are certain that the good sense of the American people will reassert itself and our land will again return to freedom of speech, press and association for all."

The defendants were Alexander Trachtenberg, 72, former CP national committeeman and long-time publisher; George Blake Charney, 51, acting N.Y. State CP chairman; Sidney Stein, 40, asst. natl. labor secy.; Fred M. Fine, 40, public affairs secy.; William Norman Marron, 53, N.Y. State exec. secy.; James E. Jackson Jr., 41, Southern regional director.

SECOND TRIAL FOR 2: Trachtenberg and Charney were tried and convicted three years ago in the second New York trial. A new trial was ordered for them after Matusow, veteran paid government witness, admitted that he had perjured himself in testifying against them.

All the others became fugitives after the original indictment in 1951. Stein was arrested in California in 1953 and has already served more than two years of a three-year sentence on a charge of "conspiring to harbor" another fugitive, Robert G. Thompson, now serving a Smith Act sentence in Atlanta. The rest gave themselves up voluntarily before the trial.

In his charge to the jury Judge Bicks noted that the Government had charged the defendants with 29 overt acts but acknowledged that it had proved only five. Among the "acts" were the publication of three articles in the theoretical magazine **Political Affairs** and Jackson's presence at a meeting in the Detroit Civic Center.

MEMBERSHIP NO PROOF: The Judge said: "You will note that the crime charged to the defendants is not that they violated the Smith Act, that is, that they taught the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the U.S. by force and violence, but rather that they conspired to do so.

"You may not find any of the defendants to have been members of a conspiracy solely by reason of the fact that he was a member of the Communist Party, no matter what you find were the principles and doctrines advocated by that party. I charge you that neither the holding of office nor membership in any Communist organization by any person constitutes per se a violation of any criminal statute."

The Marxist books introduced as evidence were "not on trial," the Judge said, but the jury was to consider "how the books were used."

WHY DO THEY DO IT? Newman Levy, a distinguished New York attorney who was part of the defense team, insisted in his summation that the Government had offered no proof that the defendants "acted to bring about a revolution by force and violence." He said:

"They talked, they printed and distributed books. The only weapon they had was a printing press . . . This is the first time in my life I have come in contact with Communists. Why do they do it? For money, power or prestige? . . . They chose this path because they believed it was the path to a better world."

The jury's deliberations were the shortest in the long history of the Smith Act trials. Before dismissing them, the Judge told the jurors:

"You have done an excellent job. You should feel that you have done a great service to your country, and I'm sorry that I cannot give you citations for your conscientious devotion to duty."

IN MEMORIAM: SACCO AND VANZETTI, DIED AUG. 23, 1927
"The Verdict," by Fred Ellis, drawn Aug. 10, 1927

Judge Hastie's dissent

In the Pittsburgh Smith Act case, Judge Marsh charged the jury in much the same fashion as did Judge Bicks in New York last week. In 1954 Circuit Judge William H. Hastie wrote an historic dissent (the court upheld the trial judge 5-2) when the case was appealed. He concluded:

"My study of the record has convinced me that on certain of the issues thus stated there was no such proof as would warrant submission to the jury. Therefore the defendants were entitled to directed verdicts of acquittal."

But WE believe in fairies, Brigitte!

FRANKFURT, July 6 (AP)—A two-year hunt for scores of "Communist spies" in West Germany has been called off and a self-styled Mata Hari has drawn a six-month prison term for inventing an espionage ring.

It all started in October, 1954, when police here picked up pretty Brigitte Hofmann, 25, in a nightclub because she didn't have money to pay for her drink. She told authorities that she was an agent working for Communist East German intelligence organizations and had received secret information from "scores" of Communist spies for relay to East Germany.

One by one she named names. Special agents combed the country for two years but never caught any of those Brigitte had named. Brigitte finally admitted she had simply invented the mystery spy ring. Asked why, she replied:

"They were all so eager when I told them my fairy stories. I wanted to keep them happy."

—N.Y. Journal-American, July 6, 1956

SIX OTHERS TOO

Miller and Nathan cited for contempt

TWO DAYS BEFORE it went out of official existence, the House of Representatives of the 84th Congress provided a lingering memento of itself by citing eight persons, including Arthur Miller, for contempt. All at various times had refused to tell the House Committee on Un-American Activities of past or present associations.

On seven of the cases the House voted by voice. When Miller's name came up, a roll-call was demanded and noses were counted; eight Democrats and one Republican stood up to vote No, but 373 went along with the committee. Actual prosecution of the eight is now up to the Dept. of Justice. Maximum penalty under the charge is one year in prison and a $1,000 fine.

Miller, who was already honeymooning in England with Mrs. Miller when the vote was taken, had claimed no constitutional protection but refused to name names as a matter of conscience.

TWO ACTORS CITED: The other seven cited are: Dr. Otto Nathan, New York University professor and executor of the estate of Albert Einstein, who not only would not answer questions about his beliefs and associations but refused a committee demand that he surrender his passport; New York actors Elliott Sullivan and George Tyne; folk-singer Pete Seeger who described himself to the committee as a "banjo picker"; and three residents of St. Louis who defied the committee during its expedition there this Spring.

Those who voted against the citation against Miller were New York Democrats Abraham J. Multer, Emanuel Celler, Arthur G. Klein and Irwin D. Davidson; California Democrats James Roosevelt and Chet Holifield; New Jersey Democrats Alfred D. Sieminski and Frank Thompson Jr.; and Indiana Republican Shepard J. Crumpacker.

MILLER'S CREDO: Although Miller declared that he would not now support a cause or movement "which was dominated by Communists," he wrote a lengthy letter to the committee explaining "certain considerations which have moved me to decline the naming of those few people I recall as having been present at the meetings of Communist writers which I attended in 1947."

After tracing his development as "one devoted to the democratic hope for man," he said:

"If now, by virtue of my willingness or unwillingness to answer a single question about the identity of certain other writers and by this sudden standard my whole character and citizenship are to be judged, then it means to me that the labor of revelation lasting over 20 years is brought down to nothing in a single moment, and the daily struggle I have waged to speak clearly and in the most public of public places—the American stage—is altogether mocked."

IN SAN FRANCISCO

Powells & Schuman go on trial Sept. 6

JOHN W. POWELL, his wife Sylvia, and Julian Schuman were scheduled to go on trial in Federal District Court in San Francisco on Sept. 6. A federal grand jury indicted the three last April on charges of sedition under a law passed in 1917 to jail opponents of World War I.

The prosecution stems from material published in the **China Monthly Review**, an English-language magazine published by Powell's family for 35 years in China. As the trial opens, defense attorneys are expected to file motions to dismiss the indictment under the long-unused wartime statute.

NEW YORK BOAT RIDE: In New York, meanwhile, friends of the Powells and of Schuman, seeking to raise funds for the defense, have chartered a ship for a moonlight cruise around Manhattan and up the Hudson. The boat leaves at 7 p.m. Friday, Aug. 17, from Pier 83 at the foot of W. 43rd St. Folk singer Jackie Berman will entertain. The ship is due back in the city at 11 p.m. Fare: $3 for adults; $2 for children under 13. Supper on board is optional at an additional charge. Tickets are available from Ida Pruitt, 103 W. 93rd St., N.Y.C.; MOnument 2-1088.

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THE TROUBLE WITH EURATOM

An atomic pool for Western Europe?

At the Geneva atoms-for-peace conference a year ago, Indian physicist Dr. Homi Bhabha described the immense potentialities of the peaceful use of nuclear energy. Since then several attempts have been made to set up regional organizations to explore the potentialities Bhabha described.

Following a proposal by President Eisenhower, a UN international atomic energy agency will hold a conference next month. Last March the Soviet Union, together with ten other socialist nations, set up a United Institute of Nuclear Research; membership in the institute is open to others who might wish to join.

Washington is planning an atomic research center for Asia, located in the Philippines; initially for training rather than research. On July 22 Mr. Eisenhower, speaking at the Panama Conference of American Presidents, proposed a special commission to study the possibility of setting up a Western Hemisphere nuclear agency. On July 23 in Bombay representatives of India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and Egypt gathered to discuss possible cooperation in the development of nuclear energy.

The most controversial of the regional organizations has been the one known as Euratom. Moscow has countered Euratom by proposing an all-European atomic energy agency, which might include the U. S. Following is an analysis of Euratom by the GUARDIAN's correspondent in Paris.

By Anne Bauer
(Special to the GUARDIAN)

PARIS

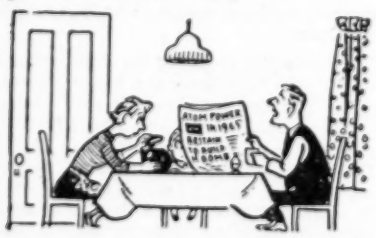
LAST MONTH the French Assembly discussed France's position regarding Euratom—the project of putting together all or part of the atomic resources of six Western European countries (France, W. Germany, Italy and the Benelux nations) for future joint supra-national efforts.

Since the vital issue at stake was neither scientific nor economic but political, the Assembly debate split into three or four factions, as it had during the European Army project debate two years ago.

The fanatically "European" pro-Vatican MRP and the Socialist Party were flanked by opposition on the right and left. On the right, Moderates and ex-Gaullists and Poujadists charged Euratom with too much supra-nationality and —based on Premier Mollet's initial "No" to Euratom arms production—of selling out France's chance of defending herself in an atomic war.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH IT: On the left, Communists and Progressives were convinced that if France entered a Little European atomic pool, she would deliver herself to W. German domination. Ex-Premier Mendes-France and his group also opposed Euratom, at least so long as Britain refused to participate.

The idea of a European atomic pool is attractive enough at first sight. What is wrong with it is not the principle of international atomic cooperation but the way it is to be applied—limiting it to Little Europe under W. German leadership.



Drawing by Gabriel, London
"You know, this atomic science opens up quite a future if we make sure it doesn't close it!"

Let us combine our atomic resources, Euratom partisans say, for we will then be able to keep up with the Big Atomic Two (U.S. and U.S.S.R.); build first-rank atomic industrial plants more cheaply and more efficiently; control and prevent W. German atomic rearmament.

THE GERMAN SPECTER: However, they overlook a number of facts and circumstances, some of them brought out in the Assembly testimony of French Atomic High Commissioner Francis Perrin, son of the eminent scientist Jean Perrin who died in the U.S. some ten years ago:

(1) France is ten years ahead of W. Germany in atomic research and plants under construction. Among the Little European countries, France is second only to the Belgian Congo in atomic raw material; W. Germany has none. Under Euratom, French raw material and research accomplishments would be turned over to W. Germany without anything in return.

(2) In 15 years the respective atomic power of the different countries will be proportionate to their economic power. Already W. Germany produces twice as much steel as France, dominates Little Europe in the chemical industries. It is easy to foresee how quickly W. Germany would dominate Euratom.

(3) France can undertake atomic construction by herself, though at a great financial effort. (Some of Perrin's figures were indeed ironical, if one considers how France's assets are now being spent: while an isotope separation plant would cost 40 billion francs, the Algerian war is costing France a billion francs a day.)

(4) Euratom will fail to prevent or control W. German rearmament with nuclear weapons, just as the international control agency promised under the Paris Treaty Agrement a year and a half ago has failed to prevent W. German rearmament now begun with U.S. military equipment. Euratom will give W. Germany liberty to rearm fully, where the Paris Treaty, explicitly forbidding W. German atomic arms production, still prevents it to some extent.

THE BACKGROUND: Euratom has a short but significant past. Last January Jean Monnet, early advocate of a "European Union" and head of a "Committee for Action for the United States of Europe," proposed a European Atomic Commission. The six Little European countries were to turn over to the Commission all property rights to atomic material produced or imported into them, the Commission alone being authorized to distribute the material inside Little Europe. The objective was purely political. If all interested nations delegated power to the Commission, Monnet said at the time, "the rest will follow."

Monnet's initial plan has been considerably watered down, because parliamentary and even public opinion found it too much to swallow. Monnet is still in the wings waiting to take an important part in Euratom.

COAL POOL EXAMPLE: The Coal and Steel Pool, functioning for several years inside Little Europe, exemplifies what Euratom might do.

(1) The Pool has sharpened Franco-German economic competition, instead of eliminating it. Designed to break up monopolies, the Pool has failed to prevent re-cartelization of the Big Ruhr concerns.

(2) Instead of raising living standards in participating countries by lowering basic production costs, it has increased both steel and coal prices, recently raising the coal price by 4% over French government protest.

(3) The post-war Inter-Allied Military Security Office had limited German steel production to 11 million tons a year; the Pool eliminated such limitations. Last year W. German steel production shot up to 24 million tons, compared with France's stationary 11-12 million tons.

(4) The Pool gives a striking, rarely advertised example of W. German domination of Little Europe. One clause stipulates that only members producing at least 20% of the Pool's total steel and coal output would have the right of veto. W. Germany now produces 48%, will produce 54% when it regains the Saar. France, minus the Saar, will produce 23%, dangerously close to the 20% limit, and will fall below the limit if she fails to keep up the pace of other nations' production.

Herblock, Washington Post
"Everything's under control. I've got him on a leash."

CHANCES ARE DIM: If Euratom were not a political operation, the Soviet proposal for pan-European cooperation would have found an echo inside Little Europe instead of being more or less ignored.

The preliminary French Assembly vote only authorizes the government to pursue general negotiations. When concrete Euratom proposals are discussed at the forthcoming Brussels talks, some of the contradictions and incompatibilities — both within the French position and in the vital interests of France and other countries — will come into the open. The chances are remote that Euratom in its final shape will obtain a favorable vote in the French Assembly.

$100,000 FINE—OR TURN IN NAMES

NAACP fights Alabama move to smash it

THE NATIONAL Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People has fought against economic siege of its members, terror and assassination. Last week it was battling a move to cripple it with fines or outlaw it in Alabama.

The organization risked a $100,000 fine rather than turn over the names of its 14,566 Alabama members to a circuit court in Montgomery. In defying a court order to do so, exec. secy. Roy Wilkins said: "We cannot in good conscience risk exposing our loyal members to economic pressure, personal threats and acts of violence for no cause other than membership in the NAACP."

WANTS THE LIST: The legal drive against the NAACP began June 1 when Alabama's Atty. Gen. John Patterson sued in circuit court to bar the NAACP from doing business in the state because of its activities in the bus boycott and the Autherine Lucy case and because it has not registered as an out-of-state organization. NAACP lawyers answered that it was a N.Y. non-profit corporation not required to register under Alabama law.

Still, said NAACP, it was willing to register and fully comply with state regulations. Patterson rejected the offer, demanded NAACP records including all correspondence dealing with the Autherine Lucy case, the pending suits against city and state bus segregation and a full list of officers and members.

Judge Walter B. Jones granted all the requests, agreed to a hearing on the legality of his order for July 25 but set 10 a.m. July 24 as the deadline for submission of the records. At the July 25 hearing NAACP attorney Robert L. Carter put the state attorney general on the stand and asked him whether NAACP members would not be subjected to prosecution and whether it was against Alabama law to seek to end racial discrimination.

THE CONTEMPT IS 'BRAZEN': Judge Jones gaveled Carter down, ruled the attorney general need not answer, offered the NAACP more time to gather its records. Carter told him: "The NAACP will stand on its legal position and not submit the records."

The Judge then ruled the organization in "brazen contempt," levied a $10,000 fine and announced that if it were not paid in five days' time the penalty would be increased to $100,000. As the deadline, midnight Monday, July 30, neared, attorneys in Alabama offered to submit all records except the membership list. The court refused. In New York chief counsel Thurgood Marshall and other top NAACP officials hurried back from vacations. Board members not available otherwise were polled by telephone. According to the **Amsterdam News**, the question was put this way: "Shall we expose our members in Alabama to the bigots—or shall we put faith in God and our lawyers and not give out their names at the risk of $100,000?"

The answer, said the **Amsterdam News**, was decisive and amounted to this: "Let's put our faith in God and Thurgood Marshall, and fight."

STAY DENIED: Judge Jones was asked again to suspend the fine pending an appeal to the state Supreme Court in view of documented cases of reprisals against known members of the NAACP. When the Judge turned down the final plea the organization asked the Supreme Court for a stay of execution of the fine while papers were being prepared for the appeal. The Alabama Supreme Court refused the stay.

The NAACP has 30 days in which to file its appeal from the contempt charge. In the meantime it cannot oppose the move to close it down in Alabama. There is a temporary injunction against its activities there now. If the fine is not paid and if the Supreme Court upholds the Circuit Court, that injunction may be permanent, outlawing the NAACP in Alabama. Since the organization is incorporated there can be no question of imprisonment for its officials in the current legal action.

The maneuver of demanding membership lists at the risk of contempt sentences has been tried in earlier prosecutions of progressive organizations. In some cases organization officials have gone to jail rather than release the lists but those proceedings were directed against individuals, not corporations.

FIGHT GOES ON: The NAACP, while fighting to hold its own in Alabama, was pressing vigorously in courts in Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia in an unrelenting legal battle to implement the Supreme Court's school desegregation ruling.

Racists were busy out of court, too. Ku Klux Klan crosses blazed in Los Angeles, Jacksonville, Fla., Hartsville, and Columbia, S. C. and in Bonham, Tex., where one was planted in House Speaker Sam Rayburn's driveway. (He called it a prank.) In Americus, Ga., the retail market of an inter-racial farm cooperative was dynamited.

At Columbia, S.C., a rally heard a hooded-and-gowned leader explain: "Attorney General Herbert Brownell has a lot of Catholic and Jewish friends who wanted to be members and were refused; therefore we have been put on the subversive list."

At Hartsville another Klansman from under a hood called President Eisenhower a "low-down scoundrel" for his orders on armed forces desegregation. A six-year old boy in kiddie-size hood waved from the platform.

The Suez story

(Continued from Page 1)

forces at Tel-el-Kebir. By September, British conquest of Egypt was complete. For the next 25 years the real ruler of Egypt was the British Consul-General, Major Evelyn Baring, of Baring Brothers bankers. He declared his policy: "The interests of the [British] bondholders and those of the Egyptian people are identical."

BAGHDAD BREACH: But Britain and France can hardly expect to duplicate today their imperialist exploits of 75 years ago. Nasser has been receiving wide support from the uncommitted Asian nations, including his Arab neighbors. Asians were reported (**NYT**, 8/6) "shocked by Britain's ship and troop movements, and their sympathies were clearly with Egypt." Iraq has joined Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Yemen in endorsing Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal, thereby creating a breach in the Baghdad Pact sponsored by Washington and London. Iran's former Premier Mossadegh, just released from prison, also supports Nasser.

Washington was plainly worried by the increasing Anglo-French bellicosity towards Egypt and by its allies' demand for moral—if not military—support for their policy of force. The U.S. State Dept. would much prefer to play the role of mediator, as it did in the case of Mossadegh's nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., to the profit of American oil companies. Also, in this election year, the Eisenhower administration would like to maintain President Eisenhower's reputation for preserving the peace.

DULLES ON THE WING: On Aug. 1 Secy. of State Dulles flew to London to confer with British Prime Minister Eden and French Foreign Minister Pineau. The following day Britain invited 24 nations—ostensibly those with special interest and others whose ships ply the canal—to meet in London Aug. 16 to establish "an international system designed to assure the continuity of operation of the canal . . . consistent with legitimate Egyptian interests."

The 24 nations invited were: Egypt, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Turkey, Britain, U.S., Soviet Union, Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Ethiopia, W. Germany, Greece, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal and Sweden.

Returning to Washington Dulles, in a carefully-staged TV broadcast from the White House, supported Anglo-French opposition to the Canal's being used for the "selfish purposes" of one country. But he refused to ally the U. S. with the policy of force should the Aug. 16 conference fail. He said: "We have given no commitments at any time as to what the U. S. would do in that unhappy contingency. . ."

THE KEY COUNTRIES: Response to the British invitation was slow and even the 12 nations that had accepted the invitation at GUARDIAN press time were asking too many questions. There was no reply yet from three key countries: Egypt, U.S.S.R. and India.

Moscow wondered why Poland, E. Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and China—now trading with the Middle East—had not been invited. Cairo protested against the atmosphere "charged with threats and the concentration of naval, land and air forces" in which the conference is being held; it also felt the dispute "should have been referred to the UN." Ceylon's Premier Bandaranaike agreed with Nasser that the conference was called merely to ratify a course of action already agreed on by the Western powers. Even Bonn newspapers supported Cairo's contention that choosing London as the conference site made the invitation to Egypt look like a summons to Nasser to "appear in court."

As postponement of the conference seemed likely, the N. Y. **Times** reported (8/7) that international oil and other leading commodities experienced "the sharpest stock market decline since President Eisenhower's hospitalization for ileitis."

PRECEDENT IN IRAN: The Anglo-French-American position seemed to be that Nasser's seizure of the canal was "arbitrary," that an international waterway such as the Suez Canal cannot be left—as Eden said—"in the unfettered control of a single power," and that international control was necessary to assure passage of ships of all nations at all times, as specified in the Convention of 1888.

To this the Egyptians replied, with considerable support from abroad, that they had the legal right to nationalize the Suez Canal Co., chartered by Egypt; that, as Marguerite Higgins said (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, 7/30), the Hague Court, in upholding Iran's right to nationalize the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., set a precedent for "the right of a nation to confiscate property on its own territory"; and that if Suez cannot be left in the control of one power, neither can the Panama Canal, Gibraltar and the Dardanelles.

QUESTION OF ISRAEL: Observers also have pointed out that, despite the provisions of the 1888 Convention, Britain dominated the canal during World War II, and the Western powers have not opposed Egypt's denial of transit through the Canal to Israeli vessels. (Israel was not invited to the Aug. 16 conference) Egypt has, in fact, pointed out that Canal traffic has been moving normally since its nationalization. As the **Manchester Guardian** said: "Nasser has not broken the 1888 Convention nor do any of the later undertakings [by Egypt] appear to have been breached. . . It is hard to see how Col. Nasser can be said to have acted against international law."

INDONESIA ACTS: There have been indications that the West has real reason for concern over Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal as it may affect other Western investments abroad. The Afro-Asian nations and some Latin American states have been demanding UN recognition of their right to nationalize foreign interests.

A week after leading Jakarta newspapers had hailed Nasser's act as an example for Indonesia to follow, the Indonesian government repudiated its billion dollar debt to the Netherlands. Pointing out that the debt largely comprised the cost to the Dutch of their war against Indonesian independence, the government announced that "in fact, the Netherlands is in debt to Indonesia."

There was a look into the future also in a report (**NYT**, 8/3) that Arab nationalists envision "a gradual union of the Arab world, with exploitation of its huge oil resources for the benefit of all the Arab countries."

HOW THE EGYPTIANS FEEL ABOUT AN EGYPTIAN CANAL
Crowds in Cairo hail Nasser after his Suez announcement

Politics story

(Continued from Page 1)

civil rights resolution be "moderated" into a generalization vague enough to reassure the entire South. Coleman, a Southern "moderate," had one mission: a resolution that would say nothing about implementing the Supreme court's decision.

The party bosses are not customarily concerned with ideology. But the civil rights fight lends itself to some intricate maneuvering. Adlai Stevenson has a stake in a lofty but vaguely worded plank that would keep the South solidly in his corner and risk as little of the Northern votes as possible. He is committed to party "unity" at all costs.

APPEASEMENT: He is the odds-on favorite and Kefauver's nimble hop to his bandwagon has brought him within a handful of votes for a first-ballot victory (though some sizeable delegations from the Plains States seem unwilling to follow their former champion Kefauver into the Stevenson line). He cannot hope to clinch his victory on that first ballot unless the South is so appeased by the civil rights plank that favorite sons like Texas' Lyndon Johnson, and Missouri's Stuart Symington, for example, will withdraw in his favor. If the Southern favorite sons stay through the first ballot, Stevenson may possibly have difficulties.

N. Y. Gov. Averell Harriman has one chance of victory: a convention battle over civil rights that will force Stevenson to pick his side, perhaps drive the Southern states to bolt and force the party to depend on its big city blocs and a rousing Truman-like campaign. Truman himself was on hand in Chicago in the crucial pre-convention week and the strategy seemed to bear his imprint. He is known to prefer Harriman to Stevenson and is an unquestioned power at the convention.

Though Harriman has welcomed support from pro-segregationists or snail's-pace gradualists such as Govs. Gary of Oklahoma and A. B. (Happy) Chandler of Kentucky, he has no hope of winning the Deep South and therefore can afford some bold words on the segregation issue. He is expected therefore to crusade fervently for a strong civil rights plank.

HARRIMAN STRATEGY: His strength throughout the rest of the country lies chiefly in the prevailing attitude toward Stevenson, summed up by an Iowa farmer quoted by columnist Stewart Alsop: "Sometimes that Stevenson sounds so bright he's kind of nauseating."

GREEK UNIONIST SAFE

Paschalidis gets asylum in Poland

POLYCHRONIS PASCHALIDIS, former N. Y. leader of the Fedn. of Greek Maritime Unions, left for sanctuary in Poland from New York's Idlewild Airport on Aug. 7. Weeks earlier he had been rushed to Idlewild and came within minutes of being put on a plane for Greece where he faced imprisonment or death. The FGMU, largest Greek maritime union, is outlawed and many of its leaders have been sentenced to brutal concentration camps.

At that time his attorney Ira Gollobin worked quickly to forestall his deportation and later won a court stay. The immigration Dept. gave him the right to voluntary departure two weeks ago and the Polish government granted "asylum." It is expected that his American-born wife and their two children will join him in Poland as soon as arrangements can be made.

The farmers of Minnesota and elsewhere in the Plains who bucked their party machines to back Kefauver have indicated a desire to go anywhere but into Stevenson's corner. They recall that Harriman enthusiastically favored high price supports while Stevenson was dodging any commitment.

Throughout the long months of his active and inactive candidacy Harriman carefully constructed an assault on Stevenson from the left while vigorously disowning all left connections (even with the Americans for Democratic Action) and espousing so warlike a foreign policy that no one could call him "soft." It had been widely reported that Harriman backers had channeled some of their money into Kefauver's primary campaigns to cut down Stevenson.

THE BARGAINING: After Kefauver dramatically gave up the fight and joined Stevenson, George Backer, a Harriman leader, assailed Kefauver for "betrayal" and outlined the proposition that had been in the works to bring Kefauver into the Harriman camp. There was to be a joint statement by both Kefauver and Harriman calling not only for a tough civil rights plank but a $1.25 minimum wage, increased public housing and some less specific planks labeled "curbing of monopolies" and "aggressive farm legislation."

Harriman, his mentor Carmine DeSapio, and Truman were now left to make that assault on "moderation" by themselves. If they win they can capture the Democratic Party and hold it against the Southerners. (Even if they should subsequently lose the election, control of the party machinery would be in itself a victory.) If Harriman cannot quite win, he and DeSapio may still salvage considerable consolation from the contest. DeSapio, with New York's 98 votes at the convention, will taste the glories of an apprentice kingmaker; he will be in a position to bargain and perhaps emerge with the promise of a Cabinet post for Harriman.

GOP UNCERTAINTIES: On his way out to Chicago, national chairman Paul M. Butler predicted the Democrats would settle the civil rights issue within the Platform Committee and not on the convention floor. He said the uncertainties were all Republican and reported "considerable speculation" that President Eisenhower might not be on the ticket by November even if nominated in August.

Columnist Walter Lippmann, too, talked of the "spreading uneasiness" about the President's rate of recovery. The Stassen campaign to dump Nixon—which the President could have crushed but pointedly didn't—might be swiftly stimulated if anything so much as a bad cold seized the President.

John Adams once called the Vice Presidency "the most insignificant office that ever invention of man contrived." His present-day kinsman, Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams, not a Nixon partisan, takes a different view in 1956.

BUSY DEMOCRATS-FOR-IKE

What bi-partisan Congress didn't do for America

By Lawrence Emery

THE ONE THING the Democrat-controlled 84th Congress, which went out of existence at midnight July 27, seemed to prove is that it doesn't matter much which party holds a majority on Capitol Hill. Actually, the Democratic Congress gave the Republican President more of what he asked for than it gave its own Senate Majority Leader.

Superficially it was a "busy" Congress and it passed a record-breaking total of 2,878 bills during 224 days in session over a two-year period. Few of them will make history, but among the 84th's achievements was the establishment of "In God We Trust" as the nation's official motto. It also raised its own salaries by 50%.

During 1956 Mr. Eisenhower asked for 224 separate and specific pieces of legislation and got 103 of them; Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson proposed a package of 28 legislative items and got 12, making his batting average fairly lower than the President's.

SAME PHILOSOPHY: The basic Congressional bipartisanship was widely noted. The Washington **Post & Times Herald** said: "In dealing with many of the items in the President's legislative program Democratic legislators gave him more support than members of his own party." The **N. Y. Times** found that "the philosophy of the Democratic Congressional leadership proved to be remarkably similar to that of the President and his wing of the GOP, differing often in details but rarely in basic principles." The Madison, Wisc., **Capital Times** summed it up: "By and large, the record of the 84th Congress pretty well demonstrated that there is very little difference between the leadership of the two parties so far as Congressional action is concerned."

On the credit side the 84th could boast of little, and even that was of a token nature. On the debit side the record is dismal.

Herblock, Washington Post

"Go ahead—don't wait for any medals."

SKELETON HOUSING: The Social Security program was "modernized" by lowering the retirement age of women from 65 to 62 and full benefits were voted for totally disabled workers at the age of 50. Federal minimum wages were increased from 75c to $1, well short of the $1.25 asked by organized labor. Public housing barely remained alive with a "compromise" measure providing for construction of only 35,000 units a year for the next two years; this figure was substituted for a Senate-passed bill that called for 135,000 units in each of the next four years. Additional funds were voted for hospitals and medical research but they were piddling compared to the need and ludicrous compared to the $66,500,000,000 given to the Defense Dept. and the nearly $4,000,000,000 assigned to foreign aid, mostly military. A 13-year highway construction program costing $33,000,000 was approved.

Construction of an atomic-powered merchant ship was voted, but three major bills which would have spurred development of atomic power for peace-time uses were defeated.

PUBLIC POWER DEFEAT: Although both parties are firmly pledged to civil rights, this legislation died in the Senate without a fight although the House had approved it by a vote of 276 to 126.

The crucial bill for federal aid to school construction—the nation is in a chronic crisis of class-room shortage—was killed in the House after elaborate parliamentary maneuvering with both parties blaming each other for its defeat.

The fight for public power suffered one of its harshest setbacks in recent times with the defeat of the proposal to

(Continued on Page 7)

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Congress story

(Continued from Page 6)

build a single high dam in Hells Canyon on the Snake River. Unless pending court action is favorable, the way is now cleared for a private utility company to move in with the consequent loss of the Hells Canyon site for a huge multi-purpose dam, and the integrated development of the Northwest Columbia River Basin will be deferred for at least a half-century.

The Hells Canyon fight was lost after 18 hours of bitter debate in the Senate, which defeated the proposal by a vote of 51 to 41. Public power proponents charged that the White House exerted more pressure on this issue than on any other in this session, and the N. Y. **Times** reported that one GOP Senator was bombarded with four phone calls from the White House and two from the Dept. of the Interior, while others felt the heat from two or more calls and many were personally visited by White House aides.

LABOR AND TAXES: Amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act demanded by labor were ignored. There was no improvement in the McCarran-Walter Immigration law. There was no income tax reduction for the lower brackets. A bill for aid to depressed areas was lost. No action was taken on Eisenhower's less-than-adequate health insurance plan. Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska was shelved.

On the witch-hunting front, the Congress refused to legalize wire-tapping in "subversive" cases, took no action on bills to nullify two recent Supreme Court decisions which bar states from enforcing their sedition laws and which limit dismissal of government employes on "security" charges to those holding "sensitive" jobs. But the Congress did pass, and the President signed, a measure quadrupling the penalties for violation of the Smith Act.

SCANDAL HUSHED UP: The second session of the 84th opened with a scandal, but managed to live out its life without doing anything about it. Sen. Francis Case (R-S.D.) charged on the floor that he had been offered $2,500 in what seemed to be an effort to influence him to vote for a bill to remove natural gas producers from Federal regulation. The bill was passed despite the furore, but was vetoed. A hasty probe found nothing "illegal" in the transaction, and a more thorough investigation into lobbying practices, headed by Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.), quickly dribbled away into total silence.

A companion move resulted in endorsement by 85 Senators of a Clean Elections bill which would have tightened up regulations governing campaign contributions and Congressional ethical practices. This was shelved despite its overwhelming Senatorial backing.

Three days before Congress adjourned the Superior Oil Co. of California and two of its lawyers, the principals in the Case affair, were indicted by a Federal grand jury for alleged violations of the lobbying laws. But the Congress, by inaction, had preserved its pretense to purity.

John Adams Kingsbury

DR. JOHN ADAMS KINGSBURY, chairman since 1949 of the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship, died in New York's Mt. Sinai Hospital on Fri., Aug. 3, after suffering a heart attack on July 23. He would have been 80 years old on Aug. 30.

John A. Kingsbury
A life of service

A direct descendant of Henry Kingsbury and Henry Adams who settled in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1638, Dr. Kingsbury was a distinguished leader in the fields of social work, public welfare, health and education. During his long career he held several important public posts in New York City, New York State and in the Federal government during the New Deal years. From 1921 to 1935 he was secretary and managing director of the Milbank Memorial Fund and in that capacity helped develop a national health program.

He traveled extensively and was one of the first to publicize widely the health program of the Soviet Union. In recent years he was a familiar figure at international peace congresses; a statement of the Board of Directors said that "he has made inestimable contributions to the international understanding that must be the basis for an enduring peace."

He was one of the original organizers of Russian War Relief in 1941.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Mabel Glass Kingsbury, and two daughters, Mrs. Abel Sorensen and Mrs. Belden Hyatt.

CALENDAR

Chicago

Don't Miss
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Sat., Sept. 22. Information and tickets from Chicago Council American-Soviet Friendship, Suite 403, 189 W. Madison. Phone: AN 3-1877.

Detroit

NEED A RIDE? Phone WO 1-5196 for free transportation to Annual Picnic of Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Sun. Aug. 19. Arcadia Park, Wick & Telegraph Rds. Feast and Frolic. Delicious nationality foods, beer, bar-b-q, sports, dancing. Admission 50c, children Free.

LABOR DAY PICNIC (Mon., Sept. 3). Arcadia Pk., Wicks Rd. (right after parade) to aid the Michigan Smith Act defendants in their appeal to the Supreme Court. Main Speaker: HELEN WINTER. Food. Refreshments. Square Dancing. Ball Game. Bring the family. Adm. 50 cents, Unemployed free, kids, a dime.

Minneapolis-St. Paul

GUARDIAN PICNIC Sunday afternoon, Aug. 19 at Mr. & Mrs. Jim McEvoy, Turtle Lake. Call eves. re-information or rides: Cherry 8932.

New York

BOAT RIDE around Manhattan Island. Fri., Aug. 17, 7 to 11 p.m. Sponsored by friends of the Powells and Julian Schuman. Embarkation at Pier 83, foot of W. 43 St. Tickets: Adults, $3, children, $2. Supper optional at add'l cost. Tickets: Ida Pruitt, 103 W. 93 St. MO 2-1088.

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Ave.) **HERE COMES MR. JORDAN."** Aug. 11. One of Hollywood's best comedies, with Robert Montgomery as the saxophone-playing heavyweight and Claude Raines as the chief dispatcher of the "Heavenly Express." Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm Members, $1.00; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **KNOCK ON ANY DOOR.**

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS will speak on the "Struggle for Integration in the South." Sat. Aug. 18, 9 p.m., 214 Beach 20th St., Far Rockaway, N. Y. Subscription $1.

THE AMERICAN ROAD TO SOCIALISM. Forum discussion with Carl Marzani & David Goldway. Tues., Aug. 14, 7:30 p.m. Jefferson School of Social Science, 6th Ave. at 16th St. Adm. $1.

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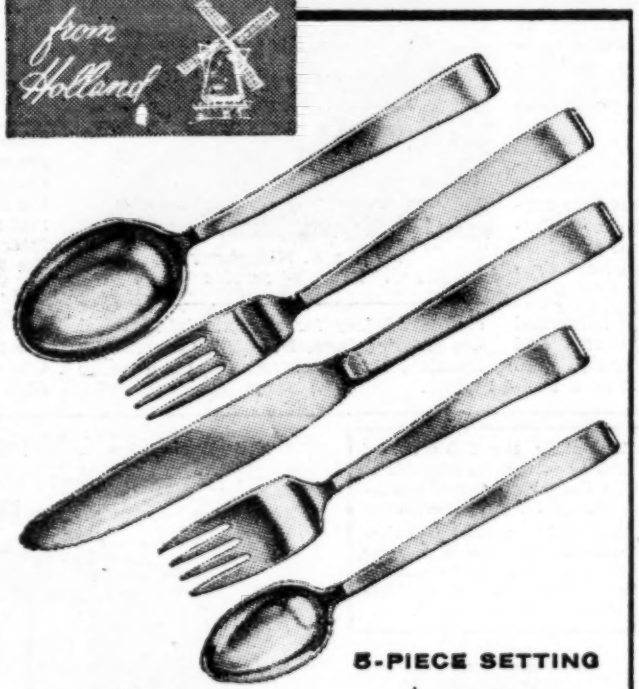

Many of our readers have asked us for quality stainless steel flatware handsome enough for special occasions but built for everyday use. We shopped all the domestic and foreign lines now flooding the market, but had to reject almost all. Some were handsome but poorly made or overpriced, others, sturdy but clumsy.

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Rock-crusher logic

"The government had found devils leaping from those Marxist books, and it sought to exorcise them by punishing living people."
—DALTON TRUMBO

The Devil in the Book is the long-awaited Smith Act pamphlet by author, playwright and blacklisted screenwriter Dalton Trumbo, one of the Hollywood Ten who went to jail in 1950 with the first wave of resistance to the witchhunters. Like his **The Time of the Toad** (1949) it is a gourmet's feast of a political pamphlet, steeped in precise historical allusion, flavored with exquisite wit and satire and based on rock-crusher logic. One is tempted to jump cheering out of the chair at his polemic against the undue respect shown judges in the Cold War period (". . . if judges were as perfect as they are presently declared to be, we should not have been obliged to write into the criminal code so many laws to keep them honest."). Indeed, each of the 13 sections into which the 42-page work is divided is a highly laudable and reprintable document in itself.

DALTON TRUMBO

THE COURT REVIEW: The occasion for the appearance of **The Devil in the Book** (15c each, 100 for $12.50 from the California Emergency Defense Committee, 323 South Western Av., Los Angeles), is the imminence of a Supreme Court review of the convictions of the California 14 Smith Act defendants and, granted later, a similar review of the Pennsylvania convictions.

The Supreme Court affirmed the first Smith Act convictions, of the top U.S. Communist Party leadership, in 1951 in an opinion announced by Chief Justice Vinson (now dead) joined by Justices Reed, Burton and Minton. Justices Jackson (now dead) and Frankfurter affirmed with differing opinions, Clark did not participate and Black and Douglas entered historic dissents. Black hoped that "in calmer times, when present pressures, passions and fears subside, this or some later Court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society."

THE GREAT CASES: Trumbo identifies these "pressures, passions and fears" of the Vinson Court majority with those discussed by Holmes along with his statement that "great cases like hard cases make bad law." Cases are called great, Holmes said, "because of some accident of immediate overwhelming interest which appeals to the feelings and distorts the judgment. These immediate interests exercise a kind of hydraulic pressure which makes what previously was clear seem doubtful, and before which even well-settled principles of law will bend." The pressure on the Vinson majority, Trumbo argues, was not imminence of revolution but the necessity of making judgments at "a time of war, real or incipient." Frankfurter, although concurring with the majority, objected to being forced to make a judgment based on "judicial reading of events still in the womb of time"; and Jackson, although affirming the convictions as within the scope of the law of conspiracy (which he thought nevertheless "an awkward and inept remedy") also objected to being required "to make a prophecy . . . in the guise of a legal decision."

But the "prophecy" of 1951 proved incorrect; Frankfurter's "events" were perhaps still-born in the womb of time. ". . . the prophesied war did not occur and does not presently even threaten. The issue is not war but peace, and diplomacy by threat has, on both sides, given way to diplomacy by negotiations.

"History having reversed the Court's prophecy, it became inevitable that the Court itself would undertake to review once more the conflicting claims of the Smith Act and the First Amendment."

REVIEW BY THE PEOPLE: But the people, too, says Trumbo, must review the law which is "the keystone of the whole structure of suppression" which has made 14 million Americans subjects of confidential files. ("A shotgun designed to kill Communists is not selective . . . It has, on occasion, even winged a Republican.")

As an example of citizenry not waiting the outcome of a new court review, Trumbo cites the petition of Eleanor Roosevelt, Henry Steele Commager, Norman Thomas, Elmer Rice, Lewis Mumford and others to President Eisenhower at Christmas time, 1955, asking amnesty for Smith Act prisoners and postponement of current Smith Act prosecutions to "give proof of our confidence in democratic institutions" and "contribute toward peace in the world . . ." Trumbo's concluding reminder: "Men who love a free society must fight for it."

Few have fought more brilliantly for it, with their best weapons, than Dalton Trumbo. **The Devil in the Book** ought to be required reading for the Supreme Court.

—John T. McManus

Shirley Graham in the hospital

DR. AND MRS. W. E. B. DuBois (Shirley Graham) were spending the weekend of July 28 with friends on Fire Island. Dr. DuBois was scheduled to speak at a GUARDIAN party St. night. Shortly before the party, Mrs. DuBois was knocked down by a big wave and tore the ligaments of her left leg. She was rushed across the bay to the mainland in a police launch to a hospital.

Mrs. DuBois will be at the South Side Hospital, Bayshore, L. I., N. Y., Room 273, till late August.